

daughters of sovereigns were the princes and princesses of the realm. Princesses were often given in marriage by the king to create alliances between the throne and other states, or nobles, or as rewards to trusted followers. Often, one among the princes was designated Chiroma or heir apparent. However, there was no hard and fast rule that the Chiroma either had the title for life, or that having been graced by the title its holder automatically succeeded to the throne. Although there was no special term for royal granddaughter, a king's grandsons who might become princes, if their fathers obtained the throne, were referred to by a special term.

Attached to the royal household by bonds of strict loyalty and obedience were the king's followers, some of whom lived in the palace, while others lived nearby. These, known as Koguna, together with members of the royal family and their followers provided the basis for the nobility of the state. They were of two main types—slave and free—with slaves being divided into ordinary slaves and eunuchs. The slaves originated from the slave trade or from raids made among pagan groups, or from the sons and daughters of slaves. The free nobility came from de-royalized segments of the royal family as it expanded through time and from descendants of nobles. This nobility was the source of personnel for the bulk of the administrative activities of the state. They served as the monarch's personal bodyguard, as messengers, military commanders, tax collectors, trusted spies, praise singers, slave raiders, consuls, and foreign emissaries. From their ranks came the people who bore the major titles of the state. Some of the titles were derived from Islam; others came from earlier times in Kanem or Bornu history. Although much changed in their nature, a number of these have survived to the present day.

In order to administer the kingdom, titled nobles, including the titled women of the royal family, were given fiefs equivalent to what are today village area units. All such holdings were fragmented and dispersed so that no one noble had control over any large portion of the state. The fief holdings varied in size and number per noble and were a measure of the political success of that particular noble at any point in time. The one exception was the Galidima. The holder of this title maintained a large consolidated set of village areas on the western boundary to protect the east-west trade and guard the western approaches to the capital city. The fief-holders raised militia for the monarch and taxes for themselves and the monarch. They also served as an appeal court system for the local people when they wished adjudication at higher than the local level. Thus people could obtain a royal audience by going through the fief hierarchy. The Kanuri also used the widespread Sudanese practice of dividing the kingdom into quadrants based on the four cardinal directions. Over each quadrant was a highly trusted follower of the king who could oversee the administration of his own quadrant, raise direct royal tax levies, and serve as an alternative form of hierarchy between the people and their ruler. The system functioned in this way as a check on the power of fief-holders, since the king could take fiefs away and redistribute them if there was sufficient reason for doing so. Through their own subordinates these quadrant leaders also administered the nomadic peoples of the kingdom who could not be easily worked into the administration of the fief system based as it was on settled populations. Two of the four leaders were always eunuchs, making for an automatically free power of appointment by the monarch, since these men had no heirs. The other two were always chosen from among the king's closest associates, although there was also a

175 (In this case a titled free-born man and a titled slave of the
567 Shehu's are identical). Let us first consider the case of a
554 slave of the Shehu. Slaves of the Shehu fall into two general
categories: kabuna and sugurumma. The kabuna are the knights
and commanders of army units. The general of the army, and a
slave kabuna, held the title of Kaigama, one of the highest
Kanuri titles. The Kaigama was one of the four greatest chimas,
ruling one of the largest fiefs. He had very many slaves of
his own. Under the Kaigama were the Kazellas, high military
officers who also were slaves. These were the slave Kabuna,
175 titled and themselves chimas. The sugurumma were an entirely
567 different category. They were personal slaves, in charge of
644 the household of the Shehu. It was a common practice in raiding
• 839 for slaves, to capture large numbers of young boys as slaves of
[304] the Shehu. These were then castrated; penis and testicles were
removed entirely. Of a group of fifty or so, aged five or six,
who were subjected to castration, it was said that perhaps five
or six might survive the operation. These eunuchs (adim, an
Arabic term) served as personal servants of the Shehu and lived
in his household. The sugurumma is literally the keeper of the
key, an indication of his position of trust within the Shehu's
household. Several titles are reserved for adims. These are:
175 Yuroma - the most important of the adims, and one of the
567 four greatest chimas. On his death his title
644 goes to the adim presently holding the title of:
839 Mastrema - the second most important title held by an adim,
554 and another of the four greatest chimas. He is
succeeded by the holder of the title:

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Shetima Abu Karim - whose title is below the other two, but who is personally closest to the Shehu. He is succeeded by the

Mala Agodi. All other adim are called abagana.

Today, of course, the adim titles are vacant, the last important adim being Mastrema Musa who died in 1921. He is remembered as a fat man, with a high voice and an evil disposition. He was for a time the Ajia of Bersari district, but was dismissed. One adim, Abagana Modu Manga, still survived and lived in Malduguri in 1956. Not all of the sugurumma were eunuchs. The title Digma is that of a slave sugurumma who was not a eunuch, and that title survives today, held by the present Ajia of Magumeri district.

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Slaves of the Shehu fall therefore into two vertical categories, kabuna and sugurumma, and crowning each of these categories were titled slaves who were among the most powerful individuals in the land, and account for three of the four most important chimas. However, the bulk of the Shehu's slaves never rose to positions of great power; they served in a variety of lesser capacities, performing tasks of various degrees of importance in the administrative system and within the household of the Shehu.

Slaves of a noble, either a titled slave or a titled free-man, also fall into differing categories, which serve to determine their position. One class of slave is the susana, or house slave. He has been born in the household of his master, usually of a line of slaves who have always been slaves of one